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## After Paris— peace education

AN inquest on the "Summit" under the title "Now Let Britain Lead" is to be held in London next week.

Criticisms of unilateral nuclear disarmament will be answered by Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall, the writer and military strategist; Professor J. Rotblat, the nuclear physicist; R. W. Briginshaw General Secretary of the National Society of Operative Printers and Assistants; Canon L. John Collins, of St. Paul's Cathedral and Chairman of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament; Kingsley Martin, the Editor of *The New Statesman*; and Mervyn Jones, the writer and former staff member of *Tribune*.

Among those interrogating the platform will be Timothy Raison, of the Bow Group of Young Conservatives; Leonard Beaton, the Defence Correspondent of *The Guardian*; and Keith Kyle, of *The Economist*, and probably Ludovic Kennedy.

The meeting, which is organised by the CND, will be at the Central Hall, Westminster, next Thursday, May 26, at 7.30 p.m.

"The purpose of the meeting," CND Secretary Peggy Duff told PN on Wednesday, is to show how unilateral nuclear disarmament has been reinforced by the failure of the 'Summit'."

The meeting will be valuable as peace

# FACTS BEHIND THE SUMMIT

**TWO FACTS STAND OUT FROM THIS WEEK'S "SUMMIT" MEETING AND IT IS DIFFICULT TO KNOW WHICH IS THE MOST TERRIFYING.**

1. The men who went to Paris for "negotiations" send spy planes over "enemy" territory and use talks to seek the humiliation of their opponents. Nobody would think from this that there is enough explosive to remove everyone from the face of the earth, yet these policies and attitudes are developed as though war were still possible.
2. It is widely reported that public opinion in both the Soviet Union and the United States is firmly behind its respective leader. The Russians are enthusiastic about the offensive with which Mr. Khrushchev launched the "Summit" on Monday. Many Americans favour Mr. Eisenhower's refusal to apologise for being caught spying

The situation is now changing rapidly. The Soviet Union, it is clear, can propel nuclear warheads anywhere in the world with considerable accuracy. It is also well known that the United States has enough H-bombs to destroy Russia several times over. Moreover, the launching last Sunday of the Soviet spaceship indicates that the Soviet Union is so far ahead of the US in rocket propulsion that the deterrent theory—which is based on the balance of terror—may be on the verge of total breakdown.

### the devil

To this must be added the deep-seated suspicion and fear that grips the peoples of the two Great Powers. They have been told so often that "the enemy" is the devil incarnate that their hostility and conservatism has now generated a momentum of its own. They constitute a powerful force, holding back the genuine breaking down of barriers

### TELLER'S PLEA FOR MORE BOMBS

**NOT** disarmament, but more and better nuclear weapons in the hands of more friendly nations, should be the immediate goal of the United States, physicist Edward Teller said last night at Asilomar (California).

The famous scientist, who played the leading role in the development of the hydrogen bomb, said in an address at the National Strategy Seminar that he thinks any disarmament agreement with Russia would be impossible to enforce under present conditions.

### Desperate

"Further development of nuclear weapons is desperately needed," Teller said. . . . He said stopping nuclear research in the US would "betray the traditions of Western civilisation." . . . Teller said there was no danger of people being harmed by fall-out from nuclear tests, unless the amount of testing is greatly increased. He called talk of fall-out danger "a bugaboo"

Originally Teller had announced that his talk would be "off the record," but it was announced just before he spoke that he had changed his mind.

Monterey Peninsula (California)  
Herald, April 26.

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"The purpose of the meeting," CND Secretary Peggy Duff told PN on Wednesday, is to show how unilateral nuclear disarmament has been reinforced by the failure of the 'Summit'.

The meeting will be valuable as peace education both in and about the Campaign after the Easter march and the "Summit."

## March in support of Foulness prisoners

A POSTER march organised by the Foulness Prisoners' Committee is to take place to-morrow (Saturday) to express solidarity with the fifteen demonstrators who were imprisoned as a result of the civil disobedience project at Foulness Atomic Weapons Research Establishment on May 2.

Assembling at Marble Arch at 10.45 a.m. marchers will go via Oxford St., Piccadilly, Tottenham Court Rd. to King's Cross. It is hoped that the "Operation Foulness" banner, which was used during the original project, will lead the march.

Latest news of the prisoners is that only two of the men, Will Warren and Jeffrey Holden remain in Brixton Prison, London, S.W.2. The others are at the open prison, Eastchurch, near Sheerness, Kent. They are: Peter Brown, Terence Chandler, Peter Dodson, Michael Nolan, Laurens Otter, Colin Smart. The seven women are still at Holloway Prison.

All prisoners are being treated as convicted prisoners during the first month of the sentence which was imposed for refusing to pay a fine for an obstruction charge. Thirteen of the prisoners who are serving a six-month sentence for refusing to keep the Queen's peace will after the first month be treated as civil prisoners. As such they will get more privileges but will forfeit their remission.

THE American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) called on the USA last Friday to "re-assess past assumptions about arms efficiency" because they are "outmoded and irrelevant" to present issues.

In a memorandum to Senator J. William Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, the Committee said that "we do not expect that foreign policy can or should be based merely on a leap of faith; but neither do we believe that foreign policy can or should be based on a rigid adherence to assumptions which are outmoded and irrelevant."

## TRADITIONAL

"The first requirement is certainly for the executive and legislative branches of government to re-establish the traditional civilian control over American policy that has all but been relinquished to the military.

"The second prerequisite is a clarification of American commitment to disarmament. No one will take seriously our search for alternatives as long as our interest in ending the arms race appears to be sporadic and half-hearted. . . .

"What is needed is not blind faith, either in militarism or pacifism, but a willingness to weigh the real consequence of our acts and to make bold changes, where not to change is to perish."

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## the devil

To this must be added the deep-seated suspicion and fear that grips the peoples of the two Great Powers. They have been told so often that "the enemy" is the devil incarnate that their hostility and conservatism has now generated a momentum of its own. They constitute a powerful force, holding back the genuine breaking down of barriers even if their leaders were able to come to terms.

Each side, in addition to its public, has its special lobbies and forces working against even limited disengagement—i.e., determined to continue and develop the cold war. Mr. Khrushchev has his Stalinists, the sacked officials, the critics of policy, the Chinese contemptuous of co-existence and the top brass critical of the scaling down of forces and the heavy dependence on rockets.

In the United States the lobbies are better known: Wall Street, the arms lobby, the military, the super-corporations and scientists of the Teller calibre.

So the leaders of the Great Powers behave as though they do not understand the facts of nuclear life, and powerful forces do not want any understanding. It is in the face of this double threat that the politics of dissent must begin.

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Monterey Peninsula (California) Herald, April 26.

## 'Another Algeria'

INFORMATION has reached the Committee of African Organisations in London from reliable sources that there is now a military censorship in the republic of Cameroon and that a division of French troops has been moved from Algeria to the Cameroon.

Reports state that French planes carried out continuous bombing in the Bamileke region last week. Over 500 arrests have been made in Bamenda and more than 500 women and children have been deported from that region.

"Fears that the Cameroon is being turned into another Algeria are confirmed," says the Committee. "The present régime, upheld by French imperialism, is causing the Cameroonian people untold suffering, terror and bloodshed."



Saturday's anti-apartheid student protest march through Central London leaves Marble Arch for Trafalgar Square. For more news of South African affairs, see back page.

Photo: Will Green.

## THE CASE OF CARYL CHESSMAN—I

*A classic travesty of justice*

CARYL W. CHESSMAN was asphyxiated in California's San Quentin Prison gas chamber about two hours before I sat down to write this article, but his case had long since become a *cause célèbre* of international import, probably equalled only by the persecution, conviction and vindication of Captain Alfred Dreyfus between 1894 and 1906.

Among American crimes and alleged criminals in the present century, the Chessman case ranks with those of Captain Charles Becker, Thomas Mooney, Sacco and Vanzetti, and Robert Stroud in the annals of controversial trials and has been followed far more widely over the world than any of these.

It is the more interesting in that Chessman had no Emile Zola to challenge those who had framed and convicted him and denied him a new trial. He was entitled to the latter if such was ever the case in the history of criminal jurisprudence.

Chessman had to act as his own Zola, and the effectiveness of his presentation of his case is proved by the fact that he became the best known "criminal" in the world, and was able to fend off a viciously hostile press, public mob, and legalised lynching for more than a decade. It is probable that the publicity concerning the case will be greater following Chessman's execution than before, especially if, as seems likely, evidence is produced in due time to identify the true Red Light Bandit (or Bandits) and demonstrate Chessman's innocence.

**His CHILDHOOD**

The Chessman case begins with his childhood, but to unravel all the details of his life at this period which headed him toward crime would require a book in itself. He was the bright but thwarted and frustrated child of misfit parents with an early inferiority complex that he over-compensated by criminal exploits. They also served the purpose of increasing the family income which was often inadequate due to the fact that his mother had been rendered an invalid by an accident when Chessman

was out on parole. Police prowl cars frequently moved about in these "petting" areas, and for Chessman merely to have been found in one of these places late at night would have placed his parole in jeopardy.

It would be difficult to imagine any criminal more unlikely than Chessman to have engaged in the Red Light Bandit type of crimes in 1948. Any evidence connecting him with these crimes offered at his 1948 trial was utterly trivial compared with the basic improbability of his taking part in any such relatively unremunerative, unattractive and dangerous activities.

In the winter of 1947-1948 the Los Angeles police were subject to strong

Harry Elmer Barnes, known to Peace News readers for his writings on Pearl Harbour and Hiroshima, begins this week the first of three articles on Caryl Chessman who was executed in the gas chamber of San Quentin Prison, California, on May 2.

Introducing Dr. Barnes to their readers, The American Journal of Correction—the leading American periodical in the field of criminology and penology—wrote recently :

"Dr. Barnes, who received his PhD from Columbia University in 1918, has been one of America's outstanding social scientists. His heroic and encyclopaedic scholarship embraces sociology, social theory, social and cultural history, social problems as well as criminology and penology. Thousands of students have been the beneficiaries of his teaching. . . His scholarly production in criminology and penology has not been exceeded by any other American scholar during the last 40 years."

By HARRY ELMER BARNES

perversion so common that the late Dr. Kinsey would hardly have regarded it as interesting to record; although Judge Fricke called it "worse than death."

No intercourse, or even attempted intercourse, was involved. Only \$15 was taken in the two instances—and that from the first party molested. Such a sum could not have remotely interested Chessman at this stage of his criminal career.

Since one of his victims was later admitted to a state hospital for the mentally diseased it has been frequently alleged that if Chessman did not kill a body he did kill a mind. The official Los Angeles county psychiatrist who examined this girl found that she had schizophrenic tendencies as early as the age of twelve, that she would have broken down in time even if she had never been molested by the Bandit, and that the molestation could not have had any significant effect on the progress of her mental malady. This opinion was confirmed by the hospital authorities when the girl was committed about two years after the date of molestation.

**His OWN ATTORNEY**

In my opinion, to describe Chessman's trial in 1948 as one of the most fantastic travesties of justice in the history of civilised criminal jurisprudence would involve considerable restraint in the choice of language. Chessman sought to get the aid of successful criminal lawyers, but one wished him to admit guilt and seek a deal with the district attorney; another agreed to conduct an able courtroom defence but his fee was far out of Chessman's reach.

He then decided to act as his own attorney, which was a great mistake. Ten years later he could have defended himself as competently as any criminal lawyer in the state, if allowed full freedom of the courtroom, but he was then young, brash and inexperienced. Moreover, this decision irked the presiding judge, Charles W. Fricke, who was a stickler for formalities and precedent. The judge confided at the outset that he would teach Chessman a



Caryl Chessman whose last appeal failed on April 30.

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time to identify the true Red Light Bandit (or Bandits) and demonstrate Chessman's innocence.

## His CHILDHOOD

The Chessman case begins with his childhood, but to unravel all the details of his life at this period which headed him toward crime would require a book in itself. He was the bright but thwarted and frustrated child of misfit parents with an early inferiority complex that he over-compensated by criminal exploits. They also served the purpose of increasing the family income which was often inadequate due to the fact that his mother had been rendered an invalid by an accident when Chessman was nine years of age.

He became a versatile and ingenious juvenile delinquent, with periodic remissions, and served time in penal and correctional institutions. This experience, as usual, taught him how to be a more competent and successful criminal.

By the time he was arrested in January, 1948, for the so-called Red Light Bandit crimes, he was getting established as a clever and prosperous criminal operator—not a "big-shot" but quite beyond the petty robbery and thieving delinquencies of his earlier career. He was engaging in the favourite "shake-down" game of the underworld, preying mainly on the madams of houses of prostitution and the gambling "bookies." He was beginning to make plenty of money with relatively slight risk from police apprehension; the main danger came from envy and possible violence at the hands of his competitors in this common variety of underworld activities.

## His SEXUAL LIFE

His sexual life had been normal up to this period, as attested by his wife and his women friends. In fact, there is no valid evidence that he ever had any proclivity for sexual perversion. If, at this time, he had any interest in sexual activities, normal or perverted, he had ample access to such opportunities with his female acquaintances and with very attractive and experienced prostitutes, and he had plenty of money to pay the latter.

These facts are of the *utmost importance* in estimating the probability of Chessman's having committed the Red Light Bandit crimes which were limited to petty robberies (only \$15 being collected in the two instances for which Chessman was con-

cerned in the leading American periodical in the field of criminology and penology—wrote recently:

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public pressure to arrest a so-called Red Light Bandit who was molesting couples engaged in petting-parties and other nocturnal activities in parked cars in obscure and outlying areas of Los Angeles.

When picked up by the police Chessman was driving with another young criminal in a stolen car which superficially resembled the one that the Red Light Bandit was reported to be using. In crucial details it did not, however, correspond with the description given by the victims of the Bandit. Since it was a recently stolen car it could not have very well been the one Chessman would have been using for a considerable period previously, if he had actually been the Red Light Bandit.

After he was arrested he was subjected to third degree by the police, beaten, and induced to make limited confessions which he immediately repudiated when lodged in jail after arraignment.

Since Chessman has been frequently described in the hostile and unscrupulous American press as "the Kidnap-robber-rape-killer," and almost always as the "Kidnap-robber-rape," it is vitally important to examine the actual crimes with which Chessman was charged (along with some five robberies and one burglary which were conveniently but dubiously tacked on to the Red Light Bandit crimes by the prosecution).

Neither kidnapping nor rape was at all involved in any usual or reasonable usage of these terms. The two women in the Red Light Bandit episodes were simply taken from the parked cars in which the Bandit found them and moved to his own car parked behind them. There they were forced to engage in a brief act of sexual

language. Chessman sought to get the aid of successful criminal lawyers, but one wished him to admit guilt and seek a deal with the district attorney; another agreed to conduct an able courtroom defence but his fee was far out of Chessman's reach.

He then decided to act as his own attorney, which was a great mistake. Ten years later he could have defended himself as competently as any criminal lawyer in the state, if allowed full freedom of the courtroom, but he was then young, brash and inexperienced. Moreover, this decision irked the presiding judge, Charles W. Fricke, who was a stickler for formalities and precedent. The judge confided at the outset that he would teach Chessman a lesson he would never forget. He did this, even if he did not produce justice or live to see Chessman executed.

Chessman did make use of the assistance of an able young lawyer, Allen Matthews, who was one of the county public defenders. He gave Chessman valuable advice throughout the trial. But Chessman made a bad mistake in not reversing their roles, having Matthews act as his attorney and giving Matthews advice on critical matters.

Judge Fricke was a man strictly in the tradition of Judge George Jeffreys of the Bloody Assizes of 1685 in England. He had the record of sending more persons to the death chamber than any other judge in the history of California since the days of *Vigilanti* hangings over a century ago. Even in non-capital cases, he usually imposed the maximum sentence allowed by the penal code.

## His UNFAIR TRIAL

He was not even too careful about the mere formalities of the law and an unusually large number of his sentences were reversed. One of these was described by the then Governor Warren of California (now Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court) as perhaps the worst case of "railroading" in the history of the state.

Judge Fricke was hostile to Chessman from the beginning of the trial and ruled against him on nearly every possible occasion. He compelled Chessman to conduct his defence from the prisoner's chair and would not allow him to approach either the witnesses or the jury. Sharpshooters from the sheriff's office were posted in the courtroom with orders to shoot Chessman dead if he made any sudden or unexpected move.



Caryl Chessman whose last appeal failed on April 30.

The judge allowed the prosecutor to tack on to the Red Light Bandit crimes some five other charges of robbery and one of burglary. They were all lumped together and constituted some 18 points against Chessman. He was compelled to defend them *en masse*, which would have challenged the legal acumen and ingenuity of even so famed and capable a trial strategist as Thomas E. Dewey.

Chessman was denied access to the daily transcript of the trial, although the prosecutor had full access to it if and when he desired, and it had been finished by the court reporter. Judge Fricke's instructions to the jury led them to feel that in bringing in a verdict of guilty they must include the death penalty. These are only a sampling of the instances of judicial unfairness during the trial.

Naturally, Judge Fricke allowed the prosecutor virtually to run wild in handling the case against Chessman. Even the majority of the California Supreme Court, while it refused to grant Chessman a new trial, felt compelled to rebuke the prosecutor:

"The prosecutor attorney presented his case in an over-zealous manner, both in addressing the jury and in improperly bringing in evidence of misconduct of defendant for which he was not on trial."

Justice Carter, of the minority, held that the prosecutor's conduct was such as ordinarily to "require the reversal of a judgment of conviction." Even the famous writer on crime and criminals, Erle Stanley Gardner, who has studiously avoided committing himself as to the guilt or innocence of Chessman, has felt constrained to write:

"Chessman did not have a fair trial. He was undoubtedly convicted at least in part because of misconduct on the part of the prosecutor."



Khrushchev ultimatum that the "Summit" talks were dominated and shadowed by the monstrous shapes whirling in space, and the hideous spectre of press-button death and disaster.

Of course, no one would deny that it is better to talk and talk and talk rather than let loose irrevocable ruin; but the fact which remains covered up in the background is the impossibility of conducting genuine negotiations under threats. Mr. Macmillan rightly says that mankind cannot afford to fail in these and subsequent negotiations, but the truth is that failure is inherent in the foundations of the "Summit" which are built upon the shifting sand of fear and menaces.

All the heads of state on their arrival at the airport in Paris referred to the absolute necessity for "goodwill" in the talks, and with smiles and jokes seemed to indicate their own goodwill. But it is possible to "smile and smile and be a villain," and quite impossible to feel real goodwill towards someone with a gun in his pocket, known to be "quick on the draw."

Negotiations are better than wars if it is true, and hope is better than hate, but sooner or later it is necessary to have at the conference table another factor, and that factor is faith in the possibility of peace.

Lip service to peace is all that has so far been heard, for U2 espionage, spaceships and satellites, rockets and super-submarines are not the symbols and harbingers of peace; there can be no peace, and little hope of it, so long as there is only reliance upon fears and threats, and no belief in negotiation from goodwill.

It is little use expecting Mr. Macmillan, with Eisenhower furious and Khrushchev threatening, to lay down his own pocket revolver and spread out his empty hands in an attitude of friendship and goodwill when the public mind is not attuned to such a gesture, and would look upon it merely as a shameful example of cringing weakness.

The public mind has to be changed, and in that change lies the real hope for peace; in the end it will be ordinary people who will create the climate in which bombs could never again rain down from the world's skies. It is the people who need to be persuaded that war is not only outmoded but immoral; when that happens politicians must get rid of war, or get out.

**"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"**

*This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters, DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE, 6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1*

which is growing among young people who associate it with the virtual slavery that once prevailed on the sugar plantations; and to encourage self help and independence.

Campers will be asked to meet their own travelling expenses and if possible contribute toward the cost of boarding. They must also bring their own sleeping bags and toilet requisites.

Any inquiries should be addressed to The Warden, Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre, P.O. Box 81, Roodepoort, Transvaal, Union of South Africa.

## 3,000 ON SCOTS' ALDERMASTON

THREE THOUSAND Scots responded to the call of the Glasgow Council for Nuclear Disarmament for a "Ban the Bomb" demonstration and marched through the busy streets of Glasgow on May 7 for a mass rally in Kelvingrove Park.

Groups came from as far away as Inverness and Aberdeen. Five Labour MPs were among the leaders of the cavalcade whose chanting slogans and rousing campaign

future of man and beast. To save us from a worse fate than the May Day revellers of old ever imagined, the maypole dance has given place to the anti-nuclear parade.

But unlike the ancient fertility rites, the anti-nuclear campaign must go on all the year round. And it needs a paper to support it and spread the news of its activities. This is where we come in.

And talking of fertility—it was Francis Bacon who said: "Money is like muck: no good except it be spread."

**B. J. BOOTHROYD.**

Contributions since May 6: £138,13s.8d. Total since Feb. 1, 1960: £526,19s.7d.

Anonymous contributions gratefully acknowledged: "Holywood" 2s. 6d.

**Still needed £1,973**

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, Peace News, 5, Caledonian Rd, London, N.1.



The Scots' Aldermaston en route through Glasgow on May 7.

## FORTY-MILE PEACE WALK IN USA

A 40-mile peace walk from the Great Lakes Naval Training Station to downtown Chicago in the USA which started off on April 14 with a contingent of 37 people swelled to 400 as it marched into The Loop in Chicago on April 16.

The march was sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, the US Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Student Peace Union—a pacifist organisation.

carrying such signs as "Ban the Bomb", "Preparation for War Will Not Bring Peace", "Begin Disarmament Now", and "Non-Violent Resistance: An Honourable Defence", had agreed to carry out the walk in the spirit of non-violence. They met with 500 others in the Morrison Hotel in The Loop for a rally entitled "Conscience, Politics and Peace". Speakers included a physicist, a Congressman, representatives of the FoR, of the United Auto Workers, AFI-CIO and Bayard Rustin, special assistant to the Reverend Martin Luther King, who led the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

The foot-weary marchers, who had been

songs could be heard above the noise of the rattling trams in busy Sauchiehall Street. Along Cowcaddens and through the less prosperous streets of the city, the pavements were lined with interested people and many bystanders joined the lines of the peaceful, though cheery, demonstrators.

The marchers were welcomed at the bandstand in the Park by Mr. Keith Bovey, Chairman, and Campbell Wilkie, Secretary of the Glasgow Council.

The speakers included Mr. R. E. Muirhead, the 92-year-old veteran politician and Scottish Nationalist, who pledged the support of his own Scottish National Congress to the campaign, and the Rev. Clifford Macquarie, Trinity Congregational Church, who ridiculed Civil Defence and called upon the marchers to be vocal about peace.

## The 'Summit'

(This commentary was written before the stormy opening session of the Paris Conference. Khrushchev seems to have shared our scepticism of the outcome, and rather than face his Stalinists empty-handed, has put himself at their head—exchanging the probability of a failure in negotiations for the certainty of a propagandist triumph. He may, however, have defeated his end. He could not be blamed for making the most of the U2 incident: by making too much of it, he has forfeited what sympathy it brought him. Only the Stalinists and the State Department stand to gain from his latest offensive, and their gain is humanity's loss.)

**SUMMITS** look their best at a distance. At close quarters they commonly turn out chilly, squally, foggy and sterile. The Paris "Summit" is unlikely to prove an exception. There is no need to blame the State Department for that. Though its latest activities have certainly helped to pollute the international atmosphere, its fears were mostly groundless. On both the main issues, Germany and disarmament, the Western Powers had already rejected Khrushchev's proposals without suggesting any more realistic alternatives.

To the subject of Berlin, in fact, they appear to have given no serious consideration at all. Their most eloquent comment has been Eisenhower's, to the effect that Khrushchev did not really mean what he said. Instead of using their six months' grace to think up a better plan than his, they have used it to avoid having to think. As though, however unacceptable his plan, his strictures on the present situation were not just! As though the present situation were so perfect that a better alternative were unthinkable!

One such alternative was sketched by Sebastian Haffner in the April 10 *Observer*, namely, the reconstitution of East Germany as a neutral State like Austria, with Prussia for its name and Berlin for its capital. This, Haffner pointed out, would only mean granting East Germany the same status as Khrushchev's Free City, and, whilst exacting sacrifices from everyone, would offer everyone advantages:

"Berlin, which would have to leave rich Germany for poor Prussia, would in compensation become a true capital again. The Russians would gain implicit safety for their East European empire at the cheap price of its most exposed and most unhealthy outstation. The Poles, who sorrowfully have to live in this empire, would gain security for their western frontier. The West, relieved of fear of accidental war in Europe, could enjoy peace with tolerable good humour"—including West Germany, which, while foregoing its dream of reunification within NATO, would have the comfort of seeing its compatriots freed. I do not know whether this plan is as satisfactory as it sounds. No doubt discussion would disclose plenty of snags and call for plenty of adjustments. But that is

## COMMENTARY

By  
Bruce Odspur

nounced a new series of underground tests. His explanation—that these will just be a contribution to a joint programme of research for peaceful purposes—is on a par with his talk of the "unconscious" U2 pilot.

Faced with this on top of the State Department's avowed intention to continue its aerial espionage, is it surprising that Khrushchev reverts to the language of Stalin? It is impossible, after all, to believe that he would have aimed for the "Summit" so doggedly if he had not genuinely wished for some agreement. And has he not, in painful fact, every reason to wish for it? The Americans seem to imagine, like Queen Victoria, that what they "do not recognise" ceases to exist. So do the Russians sometimes. But they can hardly forget that China exists—the most populous, and potentially, the most powerful, nation on earth. On occasion, indeed, one can almost see Khrushchev gesticulating to the Americans in an exasperated effort to open their eyes to what he dare not put into words. He is probably as nervous of China as he is of his Stalinists at home.

He certainly does not want China to become a nuclear Power. Nor does he want his Stalinists to echo Mao's "I told you so," when he returns from all his overtures to the West empty-handed. If the Western Powers only would open their eyes they would want it still less than he does.

## East-West aid

**W**HAT, finally, about the project for joint East-West aid to under-developed countries, which has sometimes figured on the agenda? Is there any chance of that materialising? I doubt it, if only because both sides still nurse the illusion that rival aid schemes are the surest advertisement for their rival systems.

Perhaps, however, this at least need not discourage us, since, welcome though such a project would have been as a gesture of co-operation, it would have been of questionable benefit to the under-developed countries themselves. Instead of receiving more aid, they might well have received less.

Western aid to South Korea did not spell democracy there; nor did Soviet aid to Egypt spell Communism. Since Nasser came out as the bitterest enemy of Communism in Iraq, this has begun to dawn even on British politicians. One day it may dawn on Russian ones too. Meanwhile, the longer they persist in their illusion, the better for the under-developed countries—and the better for them, the better for all of us. Physically under-developed they may be. Mentally, they compare very favourably with these pin-headed colossi, the Great Powers.

## 'Pacifism'

**W**HAT do journalists mean, I wonder, when they

confusion of thought, exactly where the utmost clarity is called for.

I personally gave up calling myself a pacifist years ago for this reason. I wish others would follow suit. If it is too late to pin the word to one, and one only, of these alternatives—and obviously it is too late—the sooner it is banished from the English vocabulary the better.

## One confusion . . .

**T**EN or twelve years ago I used to bore PN readers and myself by insisting that there was no logical connection between advocacy of total unilateral disarmament, on the one hand, and personal war resistance on the other. It was not necessary (I used to point out) for the CO to favour this particular policy—he might stake his hopes for peace on world government, for instance, or negotiated disarmament. Nor was it necessary for anybody who did favour it to be a CO—Stephen King-Hall is not, for one. And I used to suggest that, in addition to the PPU—a society of pledged war-resisters—there was much to be said for a unilateral disarmament movement which anyone might join, whatever course he proposed to adopt if it failed or until it succeeded.

Today the CND bids fair to become such a movement. At all events, there is nothing else it can become consistently. For, whatever some may think, there is no tenable half-way house between abandonment of the nuclear deterrent and abandonment of the deterrence itself. You cannot deter a nuclear Power with swords and pistols, or with "conventional weapons."

## . . . and another

**Y**ET you have only to look at the correspondence columns of the more reputable papers, or the reports of trade union debates, to see how much confusion prevails here too. Everywhere arguments against the nuclear deterrent are being mingled with arguments against the independent deterrent, for all the world as though these two were one and the same.

They are not the same. They are not even related to each other. Britain's abandonment of her independent deterrent need mean only a more closely-knit NATO. Her abandonment of the policy of deterrence must needs mean the end of NATO. They are at least as different as that.

It is of the utmost importance that we should keep this distinction clear. It is the plain duty of the Labour leaders to bring it home to their following—and to his credit, Gaitskell looks like doing so. It is equally the duty of the CND spokesmen to bring it home to theirs, however much short-term support it may lose them.

## Alternative policies

**T**HERE is something to be said for the policy of preserving peace by mutual deterrence. There is something to be said for the policy of total unilateral disarmament, with its corollary of non-violence. Either means an enormous risk: in the one case, the risk of destruction without hope of recovery, in the other, the risk of subjugation with a tenuous, long-term hope. But there is nothing whatever to be said for refusing to face either of these risks, weigh them, choose between them and take the consequences.

sacrifices from everyone, would offer everyone advantages:

"Berlin, which would have to leave rich Germany for poor Prussia, would in compensation become a true capital again. The Russians would gain implicit safety for their East European empire at the cheap price of its most exposed and most unhealthy outstation. The Poles, who sorrowfully have to live in this empire, would gain security for their western frontier. The West, relieved of fear of accidental war in Europe, could enjoy peace with tolerable good humour"—including West Germany, which, while foregoing its dream of reunification within NATO, would have the comfort of seeing its compatriots freed. I do not know whether this plan is as satisfactory as it sounds. No doubt discussion would disclose plenty of snags and call for plenty of adjustments. But that is exactly what discussion is for: in the absence of any such plan it becomes an aimless ritual.

## Disarmament

ON the subject of disarmament we have said enough in PN already. There was never the remotest possibility of agreement on total disarmament. The best to be hoped for from the "Summit" was the appointment of an international agency to supervise the suspension of overground bomb tests and a moratorium on underground ones. Now, on that too, the most eloquent comment has been Eisenhower's—who, without even waiting for the customary agreement to differ, has an

as a gesture of co-operation, it would have been of questionable benefit to the under-developed countries themselves. Instead of receiving more aid, they might well have received less.

Western aid to South Korea did not spell democracy there; nor did Soviet aid to Egypt spell Communism. Since Nasser came out as the bitterest enemy of Communism in Iraq, this has begun to dawn even on British politicians. One day it may dawn on Russian ones too. Meanwhile, the longer they persist in their illusion, the better for the under-developed countries—and the better for them, the better for all of us. Physically underdeveloped they may be. Mentally, they compare very favourably with these pin-headed colossi, the Great Powers.

## 'Pacifism'

WHAT do journalists mean, I wonder, when they write of "a wave of Pacifism in the Labour Party," or "Pacifism triumphant in the Unions"? Probably they do not know themselves. The only definition of "pacifism" I have been able to find that fits their usage exactly is "an opinion on peace which I am paid to decry."

But they are not the only ones to blame. A word that can be used for such different, and even contradictory, things as—to list only a few—(a) opposition to the independent deterrent, (b) opposition to the nuclear deterrent, (c) advocacy of total unilateral disarmament, (d) individual renunciation of war—this word has manifestly ceased to have any meaning at all. Its sole function is to spread

## The leukaemia toll

RISING figures of deaths from leukaemia were given in the House of Commons last week.

In five English counties the numbers of such deaths recorded in 1950, 1957, 1958 and 1959 were 128, 163, 166 and 199 respectively. These were in Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire and Nottinghamshire.

The Minister of Health, Mr. Derek Walker-Smith, gave this information at Question Time on May 9.

## Spies?

THE director of the Japanese Defence Board, Mr. Munenori Akagi, told the Diet on May 11 that since Japan took over operation of radar stations from US forces in 1958, unidentified jet bombers had been spotted flying from Hokkaido to Tokyo Bay.

They had flown twice, and sometimes

# THIS IS YOUR WORLD

four times a week, he added, and were neither Japanese nor American.

## More spies?

TWO officials of the Soviet Embassy in Berne were arrested and expelled from Switzerland on May 11.

The Swiss Department of Justice said that they had kept a rendezvous with a Soviet agent, from whom they were to have collected, against payment, information on Swiss defences—mainly about the army and radar stations—as well as facts about missile bases in West Germany.

The Soviet agent may have been a double agent who trapped the officials, it was speculated in Berne.

## Still more spies?

IN West Germany and West Berlin last year 3,051 people admitted having spied for the Communist bloc, a West German

Ministry of the Interior spokesman announced last Friday.

Of these, 2,325 had been acting for East Germany and 264 for the Soviet Union. In 1958 the total had been much lower—only 1,006.

Between August 30, 1951, and December 31, 1959, the spokesman added, 1,799 agents had been sentenced. Another 16,500 had been allowed to go free because they had made voluntary confessions and shown genuine regret for what they had done. It was estimated that there were now some 16,000 Communist agents in West Berlin and West Germany, though unofficial estimates put the number much higher.

★  
South Africa's gold and foreign assets fell by more than £2,000,000 during the week which ended on May 6, the Reserve Bank at Pretoria announced five days later. This brought the total loss since the

distinction clear. It is the plain duty of the Labour leaders to bring it home to their following—and to his credit, Gaitskell looks like doing so. It is equally the duty of the CND spokesmen to bring it home to theirs, however much short-term support it may lose them.

## Alternative policies

THERE is something to be said for the policy of preserving peace by mutual deterrence. There is something to be said for the policy of total unilateral disarmament, with its corollary of non-violence. Either means an enormous risk: in the one case, the risk of destruction without hope of recovery, in the other, the risk of subjugation with a tenuous, long-term hope. But there is nothing whatever to be said for refusing to face either of these risks, weigh them, choose between them and take the consequences.

The chances are that if the choice were presented to them clearly, the big unions would revert to the policy of deterrence, if not to the independent deterrent. In that case, the CND will revert to its original status of a tiny minority movement condemned by all the main Parties. If, on the other hand, the CND does carry the Labour Party, on an avowed policy of quitting NATO, renouncing the American alliance, relying on non-violence for our defence and urging others to do likewise—then, for the first time, there will be hope: hope that we may yet save ourselves by our exertions and the world by our example; hope, at the very worst, that we may perish honourably in the attempt, instead of in a bestial, Hitlerian lust to involve all humanity in our downfall.

Sharpeville slaughter on March 21 to more than £25,000,000.

## PEACE NEWS

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# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## Tax refusal

RON BARNES' letter on Tax Refusal (P.N., April 1) is superficially plausible, but it has no moral basis. Democracy is only a modern catchword, invented in order to dodge moral responsibility for one's actions, and quite alien to the Christian teaching. Tax refusal is far older than democracy, one classic instance being Hampden's refusal to pay Ship Money in the reign of Charles I. Under Common Law taxation is supposed to have the consent of the taxed; this consent is now assumed to have been given by one's "representative."

But where does this abiding by democracy lead us? If it is the Government's responsibility under democratic sanction to decide how our money is spent, is it not also the duty of the democrat to obey the law, which the government in its responsible position, has decided is necessary to preserve democracy? What does the conscientious pacifist do now, poor thing, if he believes that obedience to the law will lead him into the army to commit murder? Does he beg the democratic government to give him exemption from joining the army, or does he wake up and tell the government to go to hell?

Democracy is all right as a working hypothesis up to a point, but it can never satisfy the man who believes in a moral basis for his actions.—A. G. HIGGINS, The Brotherhood Church, Stapleton, Nr. Pontefract, Yorks.

M. K. JOHNSON'S arguments (P.N., May 13) would be valid if armaments were, in fact, "paid for" out of taxes. But taxes "pay for" nothing. The state can afford to manufacture armaments only because there is a surplus of production power. This surplus, in terms of labour and raw materials, is translated into armaments.

It could be translated into many other things, e.g., schools, hospitals, roads, etc., but the state considers armaments more important. Taxation is not a part of this process. It is not a question of how we should "spend" our taxes, but how we should use our wealth, i.e., our resources of labour and raw materials.

If the Chancellor of the Exchequer cared to make the necessary adjustments to our

economy, all forms of taxation could be abolished, but he could still "pay for" armaments if the state believed them to be more important than schools and hospitals, etc. The USSR is in the process of doing precisely this.—DOUGLAS CLARK, 6 Endsleigh St, London, W.C.1.

## Pacifist protest

WITH reference to Bruce Odspur's commentary (P.N., April 22) asking for ideas for a form of direct action which pacifists could practise similar to the boycott of South African goods, how about the following:

During an agreed week or month let us all withdraw our savings from government securities, i.e., government stocks, Post Office Savings Bank, National Savings Certificates, even banks, who presumably invest part of their balances in government securities.

The idea would, of course, have to be publicised, although in the case of the Post Office and banks the reason would be stated at the time of withdrawal.

I appreciate that the whole of government expenditure is not for armaments but the idea was underlined by the article by Ernest R. Bromley (P.N., April 22).—MISS D. LANE, 6 Southlands Grove, Bickley, Kent.

## Pax group

THOSE of your readers who live in Leeds may be interested to know that a group of "Pax"—the national society of Catholics and others which aims to encourage the study and application of Catholic teaching on war—has been formed there. The group will arrange meetings and other activities, and hopes to co-operate with other peace organisations in the city.

The president of the group is Professor J. M. Cameron, and the chairman is Mr. Walter Stein. Readers who would like further information are asked to write to the secretary at the following address: ROBERT M. ECCLES, 25 Clarendon Place, Leeds 2, Yorks.

## World Party

IT is encouraging to note, from the report in Peace News recently, that the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, directed



Demonstrators turned out last week for the South Africans' cricket match at Oxford. The Times' Staff Reporter wrote them off: "The only evidence of anything untoward was a few bedraggled young specimens at the entrances to the ground, who looked as dank and woe-begone as their placards in the rain."

## Reconciliation: The dynamic for the future

By DAVID BOULTON

THE Fellowship of Reconciliation's "Plan for Peace" meeting in the Royal Albert Hall on Monday had much the same almost-musical structure as Christian Action's "Challenge to Christians" meeting in the same place a year or so ago. It was as memorable, as powerful, as well-attended—all but the balconies being full—and as essentially unreportable.

It was both worship and public meeting. There were nine speakers, and their contributions were linked by Biblical quotations. The resultant structure, with some singing and both silent and corporate prayer, was aesthetically stimulating, and, more important, provocative of dedication and action.

After the Rev. R. C. Wood, Minister of Kingston-upon-Thames Congregational Church, had put to the meeting the Christian's responsibility to recognise and to work for a kingdom of God expressing the brotherhood of man, Dr. Martin Niemoeller, the German Evangelical Church leader,

God met evil and dealt decisively with it.

Other speakers were Marjorie Lewis, Professor Charles Carter, the Bishop of Llandaff, Donald Elliott, Eddie Burke (a West Indian), and Canon Edward Carpenter of Westminster Abbey.

Although, since it was planned nearly two years ago, the theme of the meeting was not directly linked to the Paris talks, the four political leaders occupied much of the meeting's thought. Despite the evening papers' news of early crisis, Professor C. E. Raven, the chairman, announced the following message as going in the meeting's name to the French capital: "We plan for

can afford to manufacture armaments only because there is a surplus of production power. This surplus, in terms of labour and raw materials, is translated into armaments.

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## World Party

IT is encouraging to note, from the report in *Peace News* recently, that the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament discussed the internationalisation of the movement. It is to be hoped that this will receive the endorsement of all supporters.

To be effective, however, it will be essential to have a political arm, i.e., close co-operation with a political party or parties. In this connection I would like to urge upon all supporters of the CND that they read the Declaration of the World Party, founded in 1958 by Gilbert Young, former Liberal Party prospective candidate, WEA lecturer, British Legion official, and special research worker.

If, on due consideration, it is felt, as I feel sure it will be, that this party offers the only present hope for political backing and the implementation of the Campaign's aims, CND supporters could bring the matter up for debate at branch meetings, regional conferences and with the greatest reasonable speed urge the calling of a special general meeting of the movement to examine the proposal.

Supporters of other organisations and others aiming at a non-violent society could also find much in this Party's proposals to be commended.

It will be said, no doubt, that the existing large Parties are so well entrenched that there is no prospect of dislodging them, but we should remember the scorn which was poured on those of us who were in at the beginning of the Councils for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests, and remember that the age of miracles is not yet, apparently, past.

The address of the Organising Committee of the World Party is: 35, Pulross Road, London, S.W.9.—**B. C. BEVIS, 107, Hill Lane, Southampton.**



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After the Rev. R. C. Wood, Minister of Kingston-upon-Thames Congregational Church, had put to the meeting the Christian's responsibility to recognise and to work for a kingdom of God expressing the brotherhood of man, Dr. Martin Niemoeller, the German Evangelical Church leader, directed attention to the implications of this responsibility in the field of peace making.

The Christian peacemaker, he declared, is not groping in the dark. There is light for those who will see it. Something has happened. Reconciliation has happened. "The power of the powerful is sentenced to death, the peace of the peaceful enjoys the approval of the Creator." Christ has brought it about, and who are we to resist?

## Third force

"We hear much talk of the need for a political 'Third Force.' But there is already a third force, and one that will outlast all others, against whom the gates of Hell shall not prevail. And that is God Himself."

Reconciliation did not mean simply "letting bygones be bygones." It was a positive dynamic for the future. It was the particular responsibility of the white man—and it was the white races which were represented at the summit—since in the white man had the "spirit of domination" taken deepest root. And reconciliation meant facing common tasks and pooling resources.

The Rev. Clifford H. MacQuire, Minister of Trinity Congregational Church, Glasgow, drew attention to the discrepancy between the Church's pronouncements on war and its action.

"If words alone could bring peace, the last rites would long ago have been said over war."

Each of the four summiteers was willing, in some last resort, to blow us all to hell. Which nation dare break the deadlock? Had we not a right to demand it be the one that enthroned its Queen in a Christian ceremony, the one that opened its Parliament each day with Christian prayer?

The cross of Christ was not a piece of ecclesiastical furniture but the revelation of God's way with evil, the point at which

God met evil and dealt decisively with it.

Other speakers were Marjorie Lewis, Professor Charles Carter, the Bishop of Llandaff, Donald Elliott, Eddie Burke (a West Indian), and Canon Edward Carpenter of Westminster Abbey.

Although, since it was planned nearly two years ago, the theme of the meeting was not directly linked to the Paris talks, the four political leaders occupied much of the meeting's thought. Despite the evening papers' news of early crisis, Professor C. E. Raven, the chairman, announced the following message as going in the meeting's name to the French capital: "We plan for peace. We pray for peace. God bless your efforts."

If that outward-going message goes far towards summing up the meeting, a message to the chairman from Professor C. A. Coulson completes the summary: "Peace depends on people—and on God. God is doing His part. Can't we do ours? The combination of God-plus-ourselves is the only one big enough for to-day's job. God is the senior partner but He needs a lot more juniors."

## PEACE SUNDAY

ON the initiative of Pax Christi, the Catholic peace movement, Sunday, May 29 will be observed, with full ecclesiastical approval, as Peace Sunday when special masses will be offered, vigils held, sermons preached and literature on peace problems sold outside the churches.

This will coincide with the weekend conference, "The Summit and the Disarmament Conference" being organised at Spode House, Rugeley, Staffs, by the National Peace Council to which Pax is affiliated.

## A denial

**PETER MOLOTSI** of the Pan-Africanist Congress, and Oliver Tambo and Tennyson Makwane of the African National Congress, have vigorously denied the allegations of Communist influence in the ANC contained in Gene Sharp's *Peace News* interview of May 13. Letters from two of the African leaders will appear in PN next week.

# A VERY PRACTICAL MYSTIC

TOYOHICO KAGAWA was a name to conjure with. It was on the cover of many best-sellers. In fact, when one of his novels had been serialised in a Tokyo newspaper, the Editor implored him to add a few more chapters, so great was the increase in circulation. At short notice he could fill the biggest hall in Japan.

He was the son of a Samurai, that ancient and strangely disciplined group of Japanese nobility who from infancy were trained to an unyielding code of behaviour. Under no circumstances must a Samurai show any sign of pain or even discomfort. To utter a grumble, to express disappointment, to show a shred of self pity is to be disgraced. Death is preferable.

In his teens Kagawa heard of Jesus Christ and what he heard captured him. When he was 21 he left college where he was doing very well, piled his books with a few other possessions on to a wheelbarrow and pushed it to the least salubrious of Tokyo's slums. Here he found a room six feet by nine, the rent of which was only 2½d. a day because it was thought to be haunted by the spirit of a previous occupier who had been murdered there. Kagawa could afford that much rent and he had been promised a sufficiency of rice—this was about all he could be sure of.

By non-violence he successfully resisted the various attacks made upon him by intruders, but as I stood looking round that room many years later it seemed to me that far more painful than violence must have been his habit of never refusing an appeal. He held to the teachings of Matthew 5, 6



Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa

Photo: Methodist Recorder

and 7. Homeless people begged for floor space; at one time he had six of these lodgers, dirty, diseased and in debt.

That is how trachoma gripped him. Drug and drink addicts, desperados and gangsters, unable to believe that he had nothing worth stealing, attacked him again and again. The destitute found that his rice bowl could always be shared.

But what a lot he learned. Of social service, of the politics of grace, of the power of fellowship.

He started a co-operative; it flourished because everybody trusted him. Another followed, and another. They soon spread across the country, co-operative schools,

farms, clinics and shops. They depended wholly on the devotion of local officials who had caught the spirit of service and self-giving from Kagawa, who himself had caught it from Christ.

I think his co-operative pawnshop appealed to me most, being accustomed to our East End ones, at whose side doors every Monday one used to see a line of harassed women with their bundles of Sunday clothes, trying hard not to be noticed. But here in Kagawa's pawnshop the bundles were handed over the counter not only with dignity, but pride, for this airy, cheery place was their own. It was so spick, span and clean that the clothes might even benefit from a few days' storage here. The attendant was their own paid servant and friend.



During a later and protracted visit to Japan I became a member of their newest co-operative—a hospital. A few thousand of them had put a small weekly levy upon themselves for several years until the blessed place eventuated. The nurses gave their services in return for food, clothes and a little pocket money. There were always enough doctors who would give their time.

"To possess superfluities while your brothers lack necessities is to possess the goods of others and is therefore stealing." Kagawa accepted this early Christian dogma and was always trying to help people spend less on themselves. He designed a suit of clothes for men, which was modern, functional, very cheap, and made in co-operative shops. "The Kagawa Suit" became popular.

Kagawa used to ask me many questions about Gandhi and about what I had seen of the destruction inflicted on China by his people. He had already sent a poem of contrition and apology over to the Chinese, and he publicly protested against the militarists who had by 1935 acquired supreme power in Tokyo (greatly encouraged, alas, by Sir John Simon's speech at Geneva dur-

## Caryl Chessman case

### ● FROM PAGE TWO

Actually, so far as a verdict of guilty was concerned, it probably did not make too much difference about Chessman's failure to have an ordinarily good lawyer or about the prosecutor's being excessively aggressive and unfair, in the light of the jury chosen for the trial. This was made up of 11 women and one man. Of course, a superbly able lawyer would have kept as many women as possible off the jury.

These women jurors, while probably well intentioned, were ignorant of crime, criminals and sexual practices. They had never read Dr. Kinsey's books, the one on "Sexual Behaviour in the Human Male,"

By Muriel Lester

Muriel Lester's adventurous life has included a probe into the drug traffic carried on by the Japanese militarists in China in the thirties and internment in Trinidad by the British Government in World War II because she refused a request to "confine your excellent lectures to prayer." (She had been speaking against war in the USA.)

She retired from active work with the International Fellowship of Reconciliation in 1954 having been their travelling secretary for sixteen years.

ing the League of Nations debate on Manchuria.

During the war Kagawa was sent to jail, but this proved a blessing. When settled in after the usual long-drawn-out formalities, he took his seat on the floor mattress with a heavy heart. For long he had been deeply perturbed "at the way the world was going." Now he would have time alone in his cell to think. He must think hard to face the apparent future of the human race. . . .

He never knew when it happened, nor for how long the ecstasy lasted, but he became rapt, caught up out of time and space. The warden's arrival in the evening with his plateful of food brought him back to awareness of here and now. Like John Masefield's Saul Kane "the rapture of the joy he felt" had renewed him wholly and lastingly.

"Love is power. Try it. Try it, it works," was his slogan, to illustrate which I will end with an episode. Kagawa was speaking at an evening service in church. In the front row were some seven or eight hooligans who, at the end of his talk, rushed the platform and attacked him with clubs.

Blood was streaming down his face, but being a Samurai and a Christian, the expression on his face never changed. Standing with his assailants he finished the meeting with prayer, then invited them into the vestry. When they emerged, confidence and love had already done their job. The men did not need to hear the word "forgiveness." It had been acted instead.

## DR. DADOO'S MISSION

*Plea for world support against apartheid*

By GENE SHARP

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These women jurors, while probably well intentioned, were ignorant of crime, criminals and sexual practices. They had never read Dr. Kinsey's books, the one on "Sexual Behaviour in the Human Male" having been published only in the year of the trial, and that on "The Sexual Behavior of the Human Female" not until five years later. They were led by the morbid exaggerations of the prosecutor to agree with Judge Fricke's statement that the behaviour to which the two women were subjected was "worse than death," although Dr. Kinsey made clear that it is indulged in voluntarily by far more than half of both human males and females, especially of the upper classes.

The women on the jury immediately identified themselves with the victims and shuddered at the thought that they or their daughters might have been compelled to submit to the same indignities. Even so, the jury was not inclined to recommend the death penalty until Judge Fricke instructed them that, if they did not, Chessman might later get released and resume such base conduct.

It would have taken the finest lawyer in the USA to have gained an acquittal for Chessman before such a jury. Indeed, it is not certain that any of these great criminal lawyers could have succeeded in a trial presided over by Judge Fricke. It is the general opinion of experienced California lawyers that the best Chessman could have hoped for, if he had been defended by a capable run-of-the-mill criminal lawyer, would have been conviction and a sentence to life imprisonment.

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## DR. DADOO'S MISSION

# Plea for world support against apartheid

DR. YUSEF DADOO, former President of the South African Indian Congress and its official representative abroad, has reached London on his mission to rally world support for the S. African peoples.

I met him just after he had reached Accra, when he gave me a graphic description of the critical situation in S. Africa, which had grown worse since what he called the "calculated murder" of the Sharpeville shootings.

The Government, he said, were using the state of emergency as an excuse for intensified efforts to suppress the people by force of arms, using the police, the military and the active citizens' force. "Hundreds and thousands" of the most capable leaders had been detained, and it was difficult to keep in touch with them.

In Dr. Dadoo's view, the Government's increasing use of armed force is a deliberate attempt to provoke the people to violence, because they find non-violent methods more difficult to repress.

The S. African Indian Congress, the African National Congress and the Pan-African Congress had all, he continued, been urging a policy of non-violence, even in the face of terrible provocation, and so far that policy had been maintained. The strikes had been spontaneous and well organised.

## Economic sanctions

WHAT Dr. Dadoo particularly wished to impress upon the world was that, however welcome general support and sympathy had been so far,

"some more active form of protest was needed."

This, he said, could involve combined action by member states of UN, and "some effective form of economic sanctions aimed at isolating South Africa. Nothing less will do."

For this purpose governments as well as trade unions should take action to prevent oil, petrol and other crucial supplies from reaching S. Africa.

Such action, he believed, if taken effectively, would confront the S. African Government with the alternatives of isolation or a change of policy.

He also thought it "absolutely important" that the question of apartheid should be raised in the Commonwealth, the members of which should find it intolerable that "a member of their club" should persist in these brutal methods.

The people were not asking for arms. They were asking that Britain and other countries should immediately cease providing arms that were being used "not to defend S. Africa but against the S. African people."

## Opposition among Whites

AS regards the white population, Dr. Dadoo continued, there were three groups specially significant in the struggle:

1. A group of "brave Churchmen" (Bishop Reeves, Archbishop de Blank, etc), liberals and democrats who are giving their full support to the non-white peoples' struggle against apartheid tyranny.

2. Industrialists and businessmen, both English and Afrikaans-speaking, "who are greatly disturbed by the Government's

policy, which they regard as both disreputable and economically harmful." There were also many intellectuals who were opposed to apartheid on principle.

3. The one big social force in the S. African body politic is the Afrikaans-speaking middle class and workers. It is this force which gives strength to the Government. But, Dr. Dadoo added, "with the worsening of conditions, one can foresee a split in this force," and the non-violent policy of the non-Whites, he said, was contributing to this possibility.

## Government's dilemma

DR. DADOO believed the Government would soon be facing a dilemma. On the one hand, to maintain their position they must continue the present state of emergency and methods of repression. But obviously that could not go on indefinitely.

On the other hand, if they lifted the state of emergency, then the vast majority of the people would continue their resistance with increasing strength. And sooner or later that would mean a new government pledged to abolish the pass laws, group law and other acts of apartheid, as well as raise the living standards of the people.

"In order to do this," Dr. Dadoo concluded, "it will have to consult and negotiate with the recognised leaders of the non-White people."

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Service 3.30 p.m. Sunday, May 22

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South Africa has been warned. Now—urges Fenner Brockway, MP—

challenge colonial injustice, for

## NORTHERN RHODESIA

## IS AT BOILING POINT

THE Commonwealth Prime Ministers have returned to their distant capitals. They have mixed feelings as they look back to the London Conference.

The Asian Premiers—Nehru from India, Ayub from Pakistan, the Tengku from Malaya—and Nkrumah from Africa's Ghana have reason to feel satisfied. They resolutely challenged South Africa's apartheid and insisted on racial equality if the Commonwealth is to persist.

It was not easy for them to do this. The British host and chairman, Mr. Harold Macmillan, did all he could to exclude South Africa's racialist policies from discussion at the meetings. He pleaded that they should be limited to private talks with, Mr. Louw, South Africa's unhappy representative, over cups of tea. But this proved impossible. Africa and Asia feel too deeply. Their representatives are equals at the Commonwealth table. They cannot tolerate inequality within a Commonwealth country.

I met Nkrumah on the Wednesday evening after he had withdrawn his invitation to Mr. Louw to visit Ghana. I met the Tengku on Thursday evening after the conference had spent the whole afternoon in high controversy over what reference should be made to South Africa in the official communiqué.

They were in great spirits, confident that Mr. Louw had been made to understand that they would not continue to accept second class status for non-whites in any Commonwealth country.

**The contrast**  
The contrast in the decisions regarding Ghana and South Africa are evidence of this warning. Ghana is to become a republic in July. It was assured of unchanged and wholehearted acceptance within the Commonwealth. The South African Government proposes that the Union should also be-

under the new United Nations. South Africa declined the transfer. The International Court ruled that there was no obligation to do so, but laid down the principle that South Africa must obey the terms of the Mandate.

## Achilles Heel

South Africa has not done so. It has annexed South West Africa and has extended to it the practice of apartheid, which aggravates previous Nazi racialism. On thirteen occasions the United Nations has called on South Africa to report on the affairs of the territory to the General Assembly. The Union Government in the past has supported South Africa.

The Asian and African Members of the Commonwealth will not tolerate a continuation of this situation. Dr. Nkrumah is to challenge it immediately. This may well prove to be the Achilles Heel of South Africa's Commonwealth membership.

The Asian and African Prime Ministers would have liked a stronger reference in the communiqué to the principle of racial equality. The multi-racial character of the Commonwealth was emphasised and the need to ensure good relations between not only the member states but the peoples was stressed. Lord Home, the Commonwealth Minister in the British Government, was able to say, however, that Mr. Louw had endorsed this. How can he do this sincerely when no coloured person is recognised as a citizen in South Africa?

British public opinion has been good on the South African issue, but I cannot help feeling that in high quarters there has been some insincerity also.

It has been a joy to meet Oliver Tambo, the Deputy leader of the South African National Congress, in London. He escaped through Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Tanganyika



been urging in London that Britain should give up the right (which, in fact, has never been used—shame on us!) to veto discriminatory legislation. The impression was given that the British Government had turned down Sir Edgar's demand, but from Mr. Alport's statement in the House of Commons this is clearly not so. The Government is ready to consider the alternative of incorporating in the Southern Rhodesia Constitution a clause disavowing discrimination.

Of what value is that whilst the interpretation of the Constitution remains the monopoly of the Whites? Southern Rhodesia will become free from discrimination only when the African majority secure equal citizenship with the Whites.

More serious immediately is the news from Northern Rhodesia. For a month I have been receiving cables from the National Independence Party alleging arrest, beatings, the prohibition of meetings, vicious repression. When I have approached the Colonial Secretary and he has cabled the Governor, replies have come that everything is normal.

It is now admitted that everything is far from normal. Northern Rhodesia is on the edge of repeating Nyasaland.

There has been African violence. I was deeply distressed by the stoning and burning of a car with fatal injuries to a White woman. I appealed to the African leaders to exert their influence to stop such atrocities. But two things must be said. First, no people resort to violence unless they are bitterly frustrated by injustice. Second, the African leaders can exert little influence if they are not permitted to speak to their people.

## Violence denounced

Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, the leader of the Independence Movement, has been in London this week. He has repeatedly denounced violence and appealed to his

vigorous, forthright and consistently against war, the "Socialist Leader." Indispensable to members of the PPU who want up-to-date information of home and world politics. Threepence weekly. Obtainable from your newsagent or from 48, Dundas St., Glasgow, C.I., and 6, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

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#### SITUATIONS VACANT

PEACE NEWS OFFICE is open up to 9 p.m. every Wednesday evening for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the dispatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed (Mon. to Fri., 9.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.) 5, Caledonian Rd., King's Cross, London, N.1.

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#### WEDNESDAYS

LONDON: 8 p.m., 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

#### THURSDAYS

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Lane (near Green Man), E.10 and E.11 Group PPU.

## DIARY

Send notices to arrive first post Monday. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

#### Saturday, May 21

BATTERSEA, S.W.11: 7.30 p.m. Town Hall (lower hall). "The Sahara Protest" Film. Rev. Michael Scott. Battersea CND.

EASTBOURNE: 3.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Wish Rd. Area Meeting. Stuart Morris. PPU.

EASTBOURNE: 7 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Wish Rd., Public Meeting "Foundations of Peace" Any Questions? Hilda von Klenze, Douglas Clark, Stuart Morris. Question Master: Mary Wray, PPU.

IPSWICH: 3 p.m. 27, The Avenue, Trimley St. Mary. Felixstowe Group PPU.

made to South Africa in the official communique.

They were in great spirits, confident that Mr. Louw had been made to understand that they would not continue to accept second class status for non-whites in any Commonwealth country.

## The contrast

The contrast in the decisions regarding Ghana and South Africa are evidence of this warning. Ghana is to become a republic in July. It was assured of unchanged and wholehearted acceptance within the Commonwealth. The South African Government proposes that the Union should also become a Republic. The conference recognised its right to do so, but before South Africa's continued membership is endorsed there must be ratification either at a further Commonwealth Conference or by correspondence.

Judging by the attitude of the Asian and African Prime Ministers, it is doubtful whether that ratification will be given if the Union Government maintains its apartheid policies. By the time for decision, Nigeria will also be a member of the Commonwealth. Nigeria's view has already been demonstrated.

The communique makes no reference to a subject which was raised during the conference and which is likely to be the most decisive factor in the relations between South Africa and the Commonwealth—the status of South West Africa. The old League of Nations placed this German colony under the mandate of South Africa specifically for the purpose of ending the racial policies of Nazism. Other mandatory territories became Trusteeship territories

Commonwealth was emphasised and the need to ensure good relations between not only the member states but the peoples was stressed. Lord Home, the Commonwealth Minister in the British Government, was able to say, however, that Mr. Louw had endorsed this. How can he do this sincerely when no coloured person is recognised as a citizen in South Africa?

British public opinion has been good on the South African issue, but I cannot help feeling that in high quarters there has been some insincerity also.

It has been a joy to meet Oliver Tambo, the Deputy leader of the South African National Congress, in London. He escaped through Bechuanaland, Nyasaland, Tanganyika and Ghana (which provided him with travel documents). But it was disturbing to hear from him that when he crossed the frontier from the Union to the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland he found little difference.

He was not allowed to stay in the same hotel as his fellow-refugee, White, Ron Segal. He saw African children crossing the road from one school, White children from another and much better school.

I welcome the intention to establish a Legislative Council in Bechuanaland with African and White Members together, but if we British people are really "het-up" about what is happening in South Africa we must urgently and actively get on with the job of ending all discrimination in our own Protectorates.

Or consider the latest news from Central Africa.

Sir Edgar Whitehead, the Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister of a Parliament which has not a single African Member, has

LONDON, W.C.1: 3-5 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. Business and discussion. Visitors welcome. Universal Religion-Pacifist Fellowship.

WOLVERHAMPTON: 3 p.m. Compton Grange; Half-day School. "Disarmament—Will Unemployment Follow?" Janet Blackman, BA, films. Wolverhampton Peace Council.

#### Sunday, May 22

LONDON, N.1: 3.30 p.m. 5 Caledonian Rd., Sufi Aziz, Balouch, Universal Religion-Pacifist Fellowship.

#### Tuesday, May 24

EPSOM: 8 p.m. Lecture Hall (Minor Hall downstairs) Upper High St. "Direct Action" Ian Dixon, Epsom YCND.

#### Wednesday, May 25

LONDON, S.W.18: 7.45 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse., High Street, Wandsworth. "Non-violence—a Critical Survey of the Working Party Report"; J. Allen Skinner, Clapham PPU.

#### Thursday, May 26

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Bush Rd. Group discussion. Leytonstone PPU.

There has been African violence. I was deeply distressed by the stoning and burning of a car with fatal injuries to a White woman. I appealed to the African leaders to exert their influence to stop such atrocities. But two things must be said. First, no people resort to violence unless they are bitterly frustrated by injustice. Second, the African leaders can exert little influence if they are not permitted to speak to their people.

## Violence denounced

Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, the leader of the Independence Movement, has been in London this week. He has repeatedly denounced violence and appealed to his people to remain calm. He could be forgiven for bitterness. He was detained for months without trial. He is not bitter. He remains friendly and human. The European minority in the Rhodesias should understand that their hope of security lies in justice to the African majority.

More than South Africa must be cleansed if the Commonwealth is to become co-operatively inter-racial. The British people have been shocked by events in South Africa. Their hearts are in the right place. We now have the opportunity and responsibility of making them equally aware of injustices which still disgrace our colonies. If we succeed, I believe the British people will respond with the same humanity.

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## Gaitskell faces Union defeat

By JOHN CONNELL

NEXT week Mr. Gaitskell faces the most critical test from the Labour and Trade Union Movement over the H-bomb issue.

During the annual conference of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers at Great Yarmouth he is expected to make a major policy speech (by special invitation of the General Secretary, Sir Thomas Williamson), appealing for support for the NATO alliance and the ill-famed "Nuclear Club."

Mr. Gaitskell is a member of the Union himself, and it seems fitting that he should now find himself face to face with a defeat from critics within this organisation who started the Trade Union revolt on nuclear arms about a year ago.

The history of the Municipal Workers on this question is typical of what has been happening in other unions—appeals from the leadership and growing disobedience from the membership. Only in the case of NUGMW the situation has been made more interesting by the methods used by its General Secretary and Executive to ensure that the official policy of Labour is carried out.

### RE-THINK

Last June the Union discussed the H-bomb at Scarborough and the Labour Movement was rocked by the decision of the majority of delegates to support a resolution in favour of unilateral disarma-

# WHITE STUDENTS PROTEST IN SOUTH AFRICA

Basil Delaine's Johannesburg cable

I STOOD TWO FEET AWAY FROM A TEEN-AGE WHITE SUPREMACIST ON MONDAY—AND LOOKED DEEP INTO THE EYES OF HATE. THE OCCASION WAS A PROTEST AGAINST CONTINUED DETENTION UNDER EMERGENCY REGULATIONS OF 52 WHITES AND HUNDREDS OF NON-WHITES.

The demonstration was staged outside South Africa's most feared prison, The Fort, in Johannesburg. Nearly 300 White students from Witwatersrand University took part.

They waved placards and chanted "Let them be free," "Liberty," "What about the detainees' children?"

I was standing in the demonstrators' ranks after marching part way from the University with them. Suddenly there was a scuffle. A placard reading "Let them speak" was grabbed from a student near me. The attacker—flanked by three other young thugs—struck out at demonstrators.

The hate-dulled eyes of those four White supremacists I had seen before—they were the eyes of Mosley's Blackshirts who struck fear into London's East End before the last war.

### Police threat

It was a successful demonstration. About 220 students—men and women—had set off from the University.

After chanting outside the prison main gate for a few minutes their number swelled to nearly 300. Among newcomers were African sympathisers.

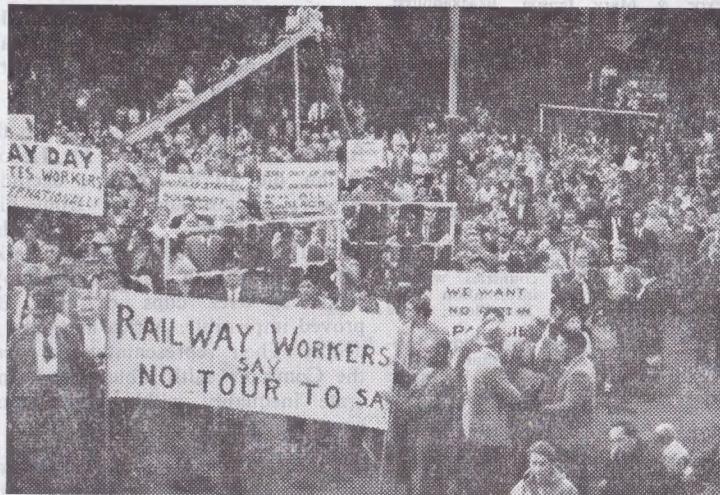
A prison officer who ordered the students to disperse gave up after demonstrators danced around him chanting "Let the detainees free."

The crowd moved to the other side of the road still chanting.

Ten minutes later a police major repeated the order to disperse. "If you don't I will call my men out and you will be liable to a £500 fine or five years' imprisonment."

At this the biggest demonstration ever to have been held outside The Fort broke up.

### All White 'All Blacks'



Part of the crowd that packed Myers Park, Auckland, to hear the speakers.  
Photo: Brian Knight

From Ella Brown

THE decision of the New Zealand Rugby Team to exclude Maoris from the "All Black" team which is touring South Africa has met with strong opposition.

A widely representative committee gathered 160,000 signatures to a petition and organised other protests. In Wellington 2,000 demonstrators carrying anti-apartheid placards tried to intercept the team. The Federation of Labour has said that the team is leaving without the good wishes of the trades unions.

A protest march in Auckland led by

the South African Inter-Racial Sports Association was read. It pointed out that the visit of the "All Black" team without Maoris would be interpreted in South Africa and elsewhere as meaning that New Zealand supports apartheid. Never before has there been so strong an indication that New Zealanders do not support apartheid.

### Briefly

Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, of Northern Rhodesia, leader of the United National Independence Party, at a press conference in New York last Sunday condemned violence as a means of achieving inde-

The history of the Municipal workers on this question is typical of what has been happening in other unions—appeals from the leadership and growing disobedience from the membership. Only in the case of NUGMW the situation has been made more interesting by the methods used by its General Secretary and Executive to ensure that the official policy of Labour is carried out.

## RE-THINK

Last June the Union discussed the H-bomb at Scarborough and the Labour Movement was rocked by the decision of the majority of delegates to support a resolution in favour of unilateral disarmament. Sir Thomas Williamson seemed to accept this sensational defeat with good grace, but later on he appeared to change his thinking and called a re-call conference in London last August.

This time the General Secretary had his way. After denying that the conference had been "rigged," he referred to the honest but misguided pacifists and appealed to the delegates to back the official TUC Labour Party line on international affairs.

Leonard McNamee, the full-time official from Burnley who had led the unilateralists to victory at Scarborough, again tackled the leadership and complained bitterly at the way in which the special conference had been arranged and the fact that the Executive had refused to accept a motion supporting unilateral disarmament. He charged the leadership with "deliberately discrediting" the Union and said that the non-nuclear club (Mr. Gaitskell's brainchild and the General Secretary's new policy) would never work.

Sir Thomas Williamson carried the conference with him. However, despite the undoubtedly sharp manoeuvring of the leadership, the nuclear club policy was carried by 194 votes to 139—a questionable vote of confidence after such a procedure.

This year there are nine resolutions down for discussion on nuclear disarmament and most of them strongly support outright British disarmament.

But there is more to it than that. This time it is not only Sir Thomas Williamson's tactics and policy which are on trial but the whole attitude of the Labour leadership on defence.

After chanting outside the prison main gate for a few minutes their number swelled to nearly 300. Among newcomers were African sympathisers.

A prison officer who ordered the students to disperse gave up after demonstrators danced around him chanting "Let the detainees free."

The crowd moved to the other side of the road still chanting.

Ten minutes later a police major repeated the order to disperse. "If you don't I will call my men out and you will be liable to a £500 fine or five years' imprisonment."

At this the biggest demonstration ever to have been held outside The Fort broke up. Police security men acted with restraint throughout. But earlier, whilst students were forming up outside the University for the march, a University official grabbed the cameras of a press man and a private photographer and flung them to the ground, damaging them. Students booed and mobbed the officer.

## Children's protest

The students' demonstration followed the heart-breaking protest on the steps of the City Hall here last Saturday when children of detainees displayed posters and presented the Mayor of Johannesburg, Mr. Alec Gorshal, with a petition asking him to demand the release of their parents.

The children—their ages ranged from five to 17—were later hustled into police cars, taken to Marshall Square police station and detained for questioning. They were later released.

In a telegram to Minister of Justice Erasmus, the Mayor said that the children appeared to be in "a dreadful state of want and worry." He asked the Minister to alleviate their misery. He also asked if the detention of children on Saturday was justified.

Seventeen-year-old Ilse Fischer, a leader of the children's delegation, was later threatened with sjambocking by an anonymous woman 'phone caller.

## POST-SUMMIT ACTION

A LONDON march to the Russian, French and U.S. Embassies is being organised by the London Region CND, assembling this Sunday (May 22) at the Albert Hall at 3.30 p.m. A meeting at St. Paul's will follow at 6 p.m.

## THE decision of the New Zealand

Rugby Team to exclude Maoris from the "All Black" team which is touring South Africa has met with strong opposition.

A widely representative committee gathered 160,000 signatures to a petition and organised other protests. In Wellington 2,000 demonstrators carrying anti-apartheid placards tried to intercept the team. The Federation of Labour has said that the team is leaving without the good wishes of the trades unions.

A protest march in Auckland led by Maori, Dr. Raewai, Lt. Colonel Awatere of the Maori Battalion, and members of the Tours Committee was estimated at 5,000. Applauding crowds lined the mile-long route through the business area which is normally almost empty on a Sunday afternoon.

Banners of many prominent organisations bore slogans: "No Maoris, No Tours," "All White All Blacks—Shame!" "No Apartheid for New Zealand." The Christian Pacifist Society was in the march with large numbers.

Speakers at the final rally included Maoris and representatives of the Tours Committee, the National Council of Churches, trades unions, the Students' Association and the National Council of Women—a total of 64 organisations.

A copy of a letter to team members from

## Bishop backs boycott

"RULE by the police is paramount over all sections of the population in South Africa today," the Bishop of Johannesburg told a packed London meeting last week.

He urged increased and sustained pressure on the South African Government by means of the boycott, etc., on the United Nations to withdraw South Africa's mandate in South-West Africa unless she changed her apartheid policy, and finally making the British protectorates in Africa a "shop window" in which the people of South Africa may see a way of life completely different from that in South Africa.

£1,500 was collected for the South African Defence and Aid Fund administered by Christian Action, which organised the meeting.

the South African Inter-Racial Sports Association was read. It pointed out that the visit of the "All Black" team without Maoris would be interpreted in South Africa and elsewhere as meaning that New Zealand supports apartheid. Never before has there been so strong an indication that New Zealanders do not support apartheid.

## Briefly

Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, of Northern Rhodesia, leader of the United National Independence Party, at a press conference in New York last Sunday condemned violence as a means of achieving independence for his country.

## NOW LET BRITAIN LEAD



*An inquest on  
the 'Summit'*

**Central Hall, Westminster  
Thursday May 26 7.30 p.m.**

**R. W. BRIGINSWORTH**  
**Canon L. JOHN COLLINS**  
**MERVYN JONES**  
**Cdr. Sir STEPHEN KING-HALL**  
**KINGSLEY MARTIN**  
**Professor J. ROTBLAT**

will put the case for unilateral nuclear disarmament and answer criticisms from:

**LEONARD BEATON**  
(*Guardian* Defence Correspondent)

**KEITH KYLE**  
(*of the Economist*)  
**TIMOTHY RAISON**  
(*of the Bow Group*)

Tickets: 2/6 reserved from the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 2 Carthusian St., E.C.1. 1/- unreserved, at the door, on the night.